Message Text

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ACTION ARA-10

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8. THE LAST ACT OF THIS LETTLE EXERCISE WAS A TELEPHONE CALL ON LATE MAY 30 FROM SILVEIRA, WHO HAD JUST RETURNED TO THE OFFICE FROM COCHABAMBA AND WHO WANTED, OSTENSIBLY, TO TALK ABOUT ANOTHER MATTER. SILVEIRA LAUNCHED INTO THE AGREEMENT QUESTION, SAYING THAT HE HAD BEEN BRIEFED BY GUERREIRO AND MARIZ. IN HIS RATHER DISJOINTED AND VOLUBLE STYLE AND WITH A CERTAIN BLUSTER, THE FOREIGN MINISTER SAID: THERE WAS AN AGREEMENT IN 1948 AMONG BRAZIL, ARGENTINA AND MEXICO, AND RAFAEL DE LA COLINA COULD VERIFY IT; HE HAD NEVER SAID THAT THE UNITED STATES WAS A PARTY TO IT; HE HAD MENTIONED IT AT SOME LENGTH TO ASSISTANT SECRETARY ROGERS WHO HAD SAID THAT HE WAS NOT IN FAVOR OF IT; THE SECRETARY HAD VOLUNTEERED TO HIM AT LUNCH THAT HE WOULD LIKE THE UNITED STATES TO HAVE A COMMON POSITION WITH BRAZIL ON THE ELECTION. SILVEIRA REITERATED SEVERAL TIMES THAT HE HAD NEVER SAID THAT THE UNITED STATES HAD PARTICIPATED IN THE AGREEMENT. ON THE 1968 ELECTIONS, HE SAID THAT THERE HAD BEEN "SPECIAL CIRCUMSTANCES" AND THAT IN ANY CASE A NATIONAL OF A NON-MAJOR COUNTRY HAD BEEN ELECTED. ON SARNEY, HE AT FIRST CLAIMED THAT SARNEY HAD NOT MENTIONED THE UNITED STATES IN HIS SPEECH. WHEN I REPLIED THAT I CAREFULLY HAD GONE OVER THE TEXT OF THE SENATOR'S REMARKS IN THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD AND WOULD BE GLAD TO SEND HIM MY MARKED COPY, SILVEIRA FELL BACK AND SAID: "IN ANY CASE, WE HAD NOTHING TO DO WITH HIS STATEMENT". HE THEN SAID HE WOULD SPEAK TO SARNEY ABOUT THE LACK OF US INVOLVEMENT. I RESPONDED THAT THAT WOULD BE VERY USEFUL INDEED. I TOLD SILVEIRA THAT I APPRCITED HIS CALL AND THAT, IN LIGHT OF HIS CONFIDENTIAL. CONFIDENTIAL

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STATEMENTS AND HIS OFFER, I CONSIDERED THE MATTER CLOSED.

9. COMMENT: I BELIEVE THAT THE EXERCISE WAS USEFUL IN THAT IT HELPED CONFIRM WITH THE FOREIGN MINISTER THAT WE ARE NOT SUPINE IN THE FACE OF THIS KIND OF SELF-SERVING CHEAP SHOT AND THAT WE, LIKE HIM, CAN REACT WHEN WE CONSIDER THAT WE ARE BEING TAKEN ADVANTAGE OF. IN THE BROADER SENSE, HOWEVER, THE FACT REMAINS THAT, IN THE MIND OF THE AVERAGE INFORMED BRAZILIAN, THERE HAS BEEN EMBEDDED THE IDEA THAT, IN THE OAS ELECTION, RESPONSIBLE. UPRIGHT BRAZIL, LOYAL TO ITS COMMITMENTS, WAS HAD BY THE CYNICAL DISREGARD BY THE US (AND ARGENTINA) OF A SOLEMN COMMITMENT. UNFORTUNATELY, ONLY A PUBLIC CHALLENGE OF THE BRAZILIAN VERSION WOULD HAVE ATTENUATED THAT PROBLEM, AND GIVEN SILVEIRA'S PERSONAL STAKE IN THE VERSION, WE WOULD HAVE HAD A FIRST-CLASS PUBLIC HASSLE. (WITH RESPECT TO SILVEIRA'S OWN INTEREST, A VERY KEEN MIDDLE-LEVEL FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICER HAS POINTED OUT TO AN EMBASSY OFFICER THAT THE EMBARRASSING OVER-REACTION TO ORFILA' ELECTION WAS THE RESULT, IN HIS VIEW, OF THE FACT THAT A KEY CONSIDERATION IN SILVEIRA'S SELECTION AS FOREIGN MINISTER HAD BEEN THE BELIEF THAT HE COULD "HANDLE" THE ARGENTINES.

10. SINCE I AM SKEPTICAL THAT SILVEIRA WILL REALLY SPEAK TO SARNEY, I INTEND TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF SOME OPPORTUNITY TO ASK THE SENATOR WHETHER HE HAS BEEN SPOKEN TO. IF HE HAS NOT, I WILL EXPLAIN OUR POSITION TO HIM. I HAVE INSTRUCTED EMBASSY OFFICERS TO DO THE SAME, IF THEY ARE ASKED DIRECTLY BY IMPORTANT CONTACTS ABOUT THE US ROLE IN THE ELECTION. CRIMMINS

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